2: Schaden--119 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayova

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881 825 [582] [624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery; he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, 881 156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

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Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type; in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest [596] or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-[623] families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

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least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief, leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

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The name ñanderú (1)

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbair. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

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sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar di-
• [624] vinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"),
[184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráídjá.

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756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay; he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, [114] and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may 623 178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the ñanderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbüá of eastern [114] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to [624] by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

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/100 cont./ courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and retained in the office so long as he does not displease the community (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52 and 53.

622 624 756 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 156 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto, only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his

624 114 623 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among the Nandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate, in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

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624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvitxá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture: it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

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624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet

624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

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624 622 182 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature, and the ñanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater authority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or external politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases the ñanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than 622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies. 648 182 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys, does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels 756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when [578] [554] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always, however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 156 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who [114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploitations on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting [115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

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622 Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie
•624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[596] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
[177] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of
[648] the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.
[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least
[622] ɣvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de-
[622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt
[184] the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

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624 554 622 554 756 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material advantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with exceptional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians, mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

[435] [465] [171] [184]

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774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" the bad prayer, the [756] [624] ñanderú is helped by the yvyráídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the ñanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- 774 828 The ayvú and the ayvúporãvẽ send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced 774 by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; 775 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most 828 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, [825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, 775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pỹtũmbyté

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754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 [171] 754 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village. [115] [761] [624]

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772 The denominations yvý-marã-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbüá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[956] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
[178] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[624] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

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771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The flanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

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77 182 177 178 [557] It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 182 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-

[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 177 178 182 [621] The consequences of the frustration in connection with the situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with

[756] [624] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/175 cont./ to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco: the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most caboclolzed, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned: they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[123] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage.

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A Change in the Political Organization

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[124]

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With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

[123] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [724]

[124] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian peons for *cheaps* when they were desired. [648]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[114]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[114] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, so far as the Cayuá are concerned.